1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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documents which have been recorded. The chants and native poetry published by Thomson were transcribed and translated by Salmon, who also obtained the long list of kings which is given in the same paper. 175 114

During 1914-1915 Mrs. Routledge spent 16 months on the island and thoroughly studied its archaeology and ethnology. Unfortunately only the popular account (194) of this expedition and a monograph on Orongo (195) have been published. Routledge's survey seems to have been very detailed, and it is regrettable that her findings have not been made available.

Although France had certain rights on the island, she formally renounced them, and in 1888 the Chilean captain, Policarpo Toro, annexed the island for Chile. An unsuccessful attempt at colonization was made by Pedro Toro Hurtado, who took a group of Chileans to the island. Mr. H. Merlet of Valparaiso acquired from the representatives of Brander, Dutroux-Bornier, and Salmon the interests they held on Easter Island. The Chilean government leased the whole island with the exception of the village of Hanga-roa and the near-by lands which remained the property of the natives. The interests purchased by Merlet were sold to the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.) who still own the land. 175 648

Every year the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* goes to Easter Island. The commander of the ship has a supervisory authority and settles all the conflicts which have arisen during the year. Unfortunately the *Baquedano* stops at the island for only a few days, and the various problems of the natives can receive but superficial treatment. The training ship carries to the island old clothes given by Chilean families. These are distributed among the natives, very often in exchange for curios. 648

The Williamson and Balfour Co. is the only real link the natives have with western civilization. It gives them work and the opportunity to buy the European articles and food they need. Of the 61 square miles, 7.72 square miles belong to the natives; the rest belongs to the company. At present the natives have more land than they need and cultivate only a part of it. When a young couple marries, the government gives them 10 hectares. Perhaps in the distant future, if the population continues to increase at the present rate, the islanders will need more land. With the exception of employees of the company, the natives are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the strip of land which is reserved for them. This measure, which may seem drastic, has been taken to prevent sheep stealing, which is carried on by natives as a kind of sport. Despite barbed wire, no week passes in which they fail to organize a raid on the sheep. Between two and three thousand animals disappeared thus in 1934. 177 423 674

A few natives are permanent employees of the company. They watch the gates which give access to the company's property, form night patrols, and do routine work on the farms. At shearing time most of the young men and women on the island gather at Vai-tea, the farm in the middle of the island, 464

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JOINT PROPERTY

592 423 241 Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

235 422 436 Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

431 476 602 Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts conforming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

226 422 501 The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

● 674 577 The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

181 674 577 The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

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they presented to Captain Cook (83, vol. 1, p. 579), laying a few potatoes on top. The larcenies were committed so openly and so generally that they seem to have been considered perfectly natural, although by running away the natives showed that they felt they might be punished if they were caught in the act of pilfering.

While anchored off Easter Island, Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 228) received some natives on board his ship:

> The crew were busy taking off their underwear when one of the savages proved himself to be a very clever thief. He sat, as if he did not notice it, upon a red necktie which he hid very adroitly in a little basket he had with him. When obliged to give back the tie he manifested neither anger nor surprise. He tried his trick again with the hope of being more successful next time.

Geiseler (87, p. 29) says that the natives "deem it a sign of cleverness" to plunder Europeans. "We observed during our stay at Vaihu that they attempted, in every way, to recover the eggs they had already sold to us and to sell them a second time. They would burst into laughter when we noticed the theft."

When Eyraud went to the island for the first time, he was robbed of his clothing and left almost naked. Once, as he worked in a well, he was threatened with death if he did not hand over immediately the trousers he had on. Ollivier (165, p. 254) writes in a letter to his superior that "the instinct of destruction together with that of stealing appear to me as the dominant features of their character."

The islanders of today have changed very little. In trade they perpetrate the most remarkable tricks to deceive the foreigners. After the visit of the *Baquedano* in 1934, one of them boasted that he had sold a bag full of stones as antiques. For years they have robbed the Williamson-Balfour Company of cattle and sheep; in 1934 they stole more than 3,000 sheep. Their raids are not justified by necessity; the Company sells them sheep at 20 cents a head, an amount they can easily afford to pay. The company store is constantly threatened by possible plundering. Despite the police organized by company managers, it is seldom that thieves are caught in the very act of stealing. Although all know who the culprits are, no one would dare to tell their names. In Easter Island, as in Tahiti, it was probably considered smart to steal if the larceny remained undiscovered.

Thomson (215, p. 465) correctly says that the natives saw no moral delinquency in the practice of thieving. More doubtful is his statement, based on information from Salmon, that "they had a god of thieving, and successful operations were believed to be accomplished under his patronage, and only detected when not sanctioned by that spirit."

The treatment of visitors differed not at all from the methods the natives would have used among themselves had such abuse been tolerated without retaliation. Gonzalez (90, p. 98) remarks:

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181 577 674 . . . they are so fond of taking other people's property that what one man obtains another will take from him, and he yields it without feeling aggrieved; the most he will do is to resist a little, then he loosens his hold of it and they remain friends. It appears as if among themselves their gods are held in common, and I believe they conceal as much as they can get possession of below the ground, for we never saw afterwards any of the things we gave them.

Legends often mention episodes in which persons who took things from others ran away to escape punishment. Modern natives steal among themselves as much as they pilfer foreigners. If they are detected they make no effort to keep the stolen goods, but quietly return it. They prefer to steal food which may be used without attracting undue attention, and they alter stolen clothes so that the legitimate owner cannot recognize them.

PUNISHMENT OF THEFT

685 The breaking down of the old order and the deposition of the old chiefs brought about, as a natural consequence, the destruction of ancient rules of justice. No tradition has been preserved as to the maintenance of justice in ancient times. Missionaries are silent on this subject, and the later voyagers had little opportunity to inquire into the functioning of the old institutions. Thomson (215, p. 473) tried to obtain details concerning laws but had to be content with vague and contradictory statements.

Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 131) says in regard to punishment for theft:

685 696 As for their fellow countrymen, it was very different, it is true that they robbed one another as much as they could, but secretly. But woe to the thief caught in the very act by a victim stronger than himself. He might expect a terrible vengeance. Here is an instance of the barbarious deeds which might happen in such occasions. Before our arrival a young boy had stolen a chicken from the chief of Hotu-Iti. The chief took the poor child by the foot with one hand and with the other he seized his thigh and then putting the leg on his knee he broke it as if it was a piece of wood.

Geiseler (87, p. 28) remarks that, inasmuch as there was no authority vested in the chiefs, the victim of a theft had to mete out justice himself:

This happens in most of the cases in such a way that the robbed person as soon as he discovers the right thief takes back what has been stolen or something else as compensation, asking for satisfaction amid loud shoutings. Very seldom do they resort to beatings or fights for this motive. A chief would in that way make justice for himself if somebody steals from him. They can never punish others for this crime.

Thomson (215, p. 465) probably on the authority of Salmon, writes:

Thieves caught in the act might be beaten, knocked about, and the aggressor was permitted to offer no resistance in the efforts to escape, although he might be the largest and the most powerful. Before the retaliation could be enforced, the theft had to be proven and fixed beyond question, then the plundered individual here was at liberty to recover the value of the loss from any property available belonging to the robber, and in the event of the value not being recovered, articles of value could be destroyed to equalize the amount. Retaliation for theft could be enforced by the weak and feeble against the strong and powerful, and any resistance would call to their aid the entire community.

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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ments and works of art. His idea was that since I had books and photographs showing the designs and he had the manual skill we might form an ideal, not to say a profitable, partnership. I must confess that on several occasions the islanders' skillful imitations completely deceived me, and I thus acquired a beautiful collection of ancient stone hooks that I only gradually realized were modern copies.

This continued practice of the traditional arts has a certain historical bearing. It suggests that there has never been a complete breach in Easter Island civilization and that the present natives, however mixed in blood they may be, are, nevertheless, the successors in direct line of the unknown men who carved the old wooden images that are nowadays prized specimens in our museums.

Unfortunately, this is not the only old custom which has survived. From the time when the Dutch discovered the island to the present, its people have had the reputation of being the cleverest thieves in the South Seas, and quite rightly. This complaint is repeated in all the accounts of the early navigators, and many of the dramatic incidents on the beach of Hangaroa have arisen from the natives' brazen contempt for the sanctity of private property. Only the sensitive and elegant French explorer La Pérouse adopted the policy of laughing at such pilfering, and paid no further attention to it. He and his men were amused by the attitude of the native women who helped their mates pick pockets by distracting the attention of innocent victims through entreaties and "ludicrous gestures."

The natives of our day are just as thievish as their forefathers, and this wayward disposition is the cause of endless troubles for the English company which has leased the island from the Chilean Government for sheep raising. To prevent constant stealing of the sheep the company put barbed wire across the island in an attempt to force the people to remain within the bounds of their village. But such drastic measures were of little avail, and in the year I spent there 3,000 sheep disappeared. Though the culprits are known to the whole community, family loyalty protects them and makes investigation useless.

Otherwise the natives are law-abiding and peaceful; there are very few records of murder or bloody violence among them. The only criminal we heard of was one of our guides, who, ironically enough, proved to be about the only honest man on the island.

The people live as they did in the past, on the produce of their fields. Taros, sweetpotatoes, yams, bananas, and sugarcane grow abundantly on the fertile volcanic soil. The only wants they cannot supply themselves are for manufactured goods such as soap. And they like especially to get foreign clothing. In this matter, the men

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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Mahine was likewise very eager

1774. MARCH. X175 291 237 to collect as many feathered caps as he could meet with, especially those which had the feathers of a man of war bird, that bird being very scarce about Taheitee, and much valued on account of its glossy black colour.

X175 674 Whilst captain Cook continued in the cove, another trade for potatoes was carried on at the watering-place. Here the desire of possessing our goods, made some of the natives guilty of a crime against their own countryman. A field of sweet potatoes was situated close to the well, and a considerable number of people of different ages and sizes, busied themselves in digging them up, and bringing them for sale to our people. They had carried on this occupation for some hours, when another native arrived, who was in a vehement passion with them, and drove them all away, remaining alone to dig the roots up himself. He was the owner of the field, whom the rest had robbed of the fruits of his labour, finding an easy method to dispose of their stolen goods. It is not to be doubted that these offences against the laws of civil society, are sometimes committed even at the Society Isles, because the inhabitants have often told us, that they inflicted a capital punishment upon such offenders; but we never saw any instances of it there. On this occasion at Easter Island, we did not observe that they annexed any penalty to the crime, though we saw it committed. Perhaps this is owing to the different degree of civilization of those two cogeneric tribes,

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10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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rial, printed or plain, for the women. Shoes are worn on only special occasions of ceremony, as, for example, during our visit. On their heads both sexes alike wear hats, the material of which is either bulrushes or long, slender leaves, torn into narrow strips, braided and then sewn together spirally. In making these they are far behind other islanders, the Tahitians more especially, attributable mainly, however, to the want of proper material rather than to the lack of intelligence.

Crimes of any sort, but especially the graver ones, are of great rarity, and murder, at the present day, unknown. Petty thieving is common, is considered a venial offense, and the injured party seeks redress by stealing in kind, if possible, but in any event, stealing from the thief. There are no punishments, so called. Mr. Salmon, who is guide, philosopher, and friend to these people, unites in his person (and being a giant in stature, he can well contain them) the duties of referee, arbiter, judge. They entertain the greatest respect for him; evince the utmost affection; look up to him as their master; go to him with all their troubles; refer to him all their disputes and grievances. His word is law, and his decisions final and undisputed.

There is a schoolhouse in which the people are taught from books translated into Rapa Nui language by the priests formerly here, and most of the natives can read and write. The functions of pedagogue are performed, after a fashion, by Pakomeo, the survivor of the Peruvian captives, who is also a preacher among them and conducts the services at the little church. The form of salutation on meeting is kohomai, "come to me." The reply, koe, which means "thou," you, yourself. In Tahiti, Society Islands, and Rarotonga it is, Ia-ora-na, "may you live in God." In the Samoan group, kalofa, "love to you" and tofa, "may you sleep."

With regard to the burial rites, it may be stated that no particular respect is shown persons of rank while living; still less do they receive any special funeral ceremonies when dead. All are treated alike in this regard, on the principle, presumably, that death levels all. The period of mourning extends over three days, and the rites are simple enough. Nowadays the service of the church is usually invoked. The body is carried out of the house and removed to some distance, either in the open plain, or to one of the image platforms, or into a cave, where it is exposed to sun and air (incidentally, it may be mentioned, also to predatory rats and cats in a semiwild state, which roam the island in large numbers, the former especially) until either dry, decomposed, or partially devoured. In the caves the remains are then shoved into an out-of-the-way corner and walled in with loose stones. At the platforms they may be laid away under a gigantic prostrate stone image, or placed in an excavation, either in the face or floor of the platform, or simply put in a convenient spot and covered up with stones. On the plains a circular conical cairn, truncated at top, 6 to 8 feet high, and built of loose bowlders, is frequently erected over the remains. Often the bones